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ABSTRACT

Youth is considered to be a developmental stage between childhood and adulthood. In this stage, adolescents have to master certain developmental tasks step by step, and as they manage to do so, they will grow to the status of adulthood. This study examined how adolescents direct themselves towards the expectations and conduct requirements of their educators during their transition to adulthood. Subjects were adolescents (N=120) who were aged 16 to 18. The subjects had completed their compulsory daytime education by June 1988. In this longitudinal study lasting 4 years, adolescents and (alternately) mothers and fathers will be interviewed. The first round of interviews showed that the adolescents almost unanimously viewed adulthood as boring. More adolescents reported that their private lives were strongly supervised by their parents; fewer considered their parents tolerant and indulgent. Neither adolescents nor parents thought lightly of perspectives for the future as far as education was concerned. Parents did not offer a model for life for the subjects. Subjects will be followed for the next few years to see how they are coping. (ABL)

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PARENT EXPECTATIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON YOUTHS' COPINGSTRATEGIES

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PARENT EXPECTATIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON YOUTHS' COPINGSTRATEGIES

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Youth in a changing world

In the human course of life, youth is considered to be a development stage between childhood and adulthood. In this stage, adolescents have to master certain development tasks step by step, and, as they manage to do so, they will grow to the status of adulthood.

This perception of youth is more and more becoming a controversial discussion under the influence of complex modernization processes. Does a classic youth phase, which takes place within the traditional socialization frameworks of family, school and work still exist? Can present-day youths still develop 'valid' life-plans at all, given a more and more open and uncertain future? And: what implications does the general tendency towards individualization of modern life have for the proces of growing up?

Youth researchers observe that social categories such as class, gender and local environments are losing their structuring ability to model the youth phase. Individual options, instead of collective significance frameworks, to a much larger extent determine present-day life than they did two generations ago. This goes for adolescents especially. Adults and pedagogues can nowadays not give essentially more orientation than young people themselves. They no longer guide young people to a defined adulthood, like they used to, but to an open space where few things are certain, where many choices are possible, and where it is not clear which options will be possible and which will be impossible, and for whom.

The risks which are involved in this tension between a maximalization of options on the one hand, and uncertainty and unpredictable impediments on the other hand, with respect to social life, and for the generation which is growing up now in particular, are subject of many contemporary cultural-philosophical, sociological and pedagogical observations (Habermas 1981; Fend 1988; Beck 1986).

Was the course of life standardized in the sense that class, gender and local environment, along with accompanying ideologies, largely determined the future social position of groups and individuals, today there is a partial destandardization (Buchmann

*Besides the author, the following researchers are part of the project-group: H. Guit, H. v. Houten, F. Meijers, E. Peters, J. Ravesloot, E. v. Rooijen.

1989; Held 1986) and fragmentation (Olk 1985) under the influence of a strong individualization (Bolt 1988) and rationalization of lifestyles. (Dreitzel 1984).

Young people want to, and have to, make more independent choices than they used to, and they will have to account for these choices themselves.
How much 'scholarly capital' they acquire on top of the requirements, is no longer so much a matter of class and gender, but is up to themselves; whether they will get married or not, whether they are happy or not, is up to them. They determine their own course of life, they write their own biography. The standard course of life changes more and more into an individualized course of life (Fuchs 1983; Zinnecker 1987; Hoerning 1988).

Individualization goes hand in hand with a shift in the balance of power between the sexes and between the different generations. Men and women, and youths and adults, are developing new forms of communications which are no longer as strongly characterized by a relation of authority and subordination as they used to be, but rather by association on the basis of equality (De Swaan 1982; Komter 1986; Du Bois-Reymond 1989; Du Bois-Reymond/Jonker 1988; Kranichfeld 1987; Steinberg 1987; Weeks/Botkin 1987). De Swaan and others summarize this historic-cultural and mental change in the theorem: from management through demand to management through negotiation.

So what is discussed are the consequences of these thorough and complex social changes for the stage of life called youth and the life-plans of young people, as well as the educational relation within and outside the family. It is these kind of questions and tentative answers which are the subject of the theoretical and empirical projects of many contemporary youth-researchers.

In our research 'youths, their parents and work', we join these discussions. We are looking for the answer to the question in how far adolescents (still) direct themselves towards the expectations and conduct requirements of their educators during their transition to adulthood. To what degree do they develop life-plans which deviate from those of their parents? To what degree do social background and gender (still) determine their prospects of life? We assume that there is a dialectic between individualization, maximalization of options and an open and 'undefined' future on the one hand, and an adherence of youngsters to definitions from the standard course of life on the other hand, exactly because they do not have sophisticated alternative perceptions of their future. It is remarkable that parents and their children do not drift apart in spite of such strongly changed conditions and possibilities of growing up nowadays. Remarkable, but not inexplicable, we argue, because the educational relationship is now more strongly nestled in a relation of management through negotiation than it used to be, and in this way mediates between the standard course of life of the parents and the more individualized biography of present-day youths.

The design of our project allows for an intergenerational comparison: we interviewed 160 youngsters (40 of which servedh as a reserve group) between 16 and 18 years of age, and their parents. The youngsters had completed the compulsory daytime education in May/June 1988 and were faced with the choice: attend further education or find a job. In the research group, boys and girls from all social backgrounds are represented.
It is a longitudinal study which lasts four years. Each year there are interviews with the youngsters and (alternately) mothers and fathers.
The first round of interviews of youngsters was held in the months May-October 1988, the first round for parents (60 mothers, born between 1930 and 1948) in the months August-December 1988. We administered half-structured interviews which left room for open answers.

Our assumption is that a more differentiated and individualized life-plan of youngsters in comparison to their parents whould especially concern two aspects of life: work and starting a relationship and family. The data-analysis has to show in how far these crucial aspects of the standard course of life tendencies of differentiation and individualization.
Social background and gender play a decisive role in the way youngsters anticipate their future and determine their relations to their parents. In the next paragraphs we discuss data from the first round of interviews with youngsters and mothers, on the basis of the following questions:

- Which life-plans do youngsters have with respect to work and starting a relationship/family, compared to those of their parents?
- In how far do youngsters conform to their parents' expectations?
- How much support do youngsters have of their parents as educators?

The life-plans of youngsters and their parents compared

In the parent generation, it is still a matter-of-course that man is the wage earner and woman is mothers and housewive. After primary school (6 years), the majority of mothers attended further educations for only a few years, possibly followed by a vocational training.
After having worked for only a few years, or directly after having finished a vocational training, these women got married and became mothers at an early age.
For this generation of Dutch women it was still very exceptional to attend a higher level of education or university; their life-plan (and its realization) wasn't at all directed at becoming a career-woman. Combining profession and children by working part-time was prevented by the labour market, and only at a later age, when their children had grown up (at this moment), a number of women succeeded in getting a part-time job or re-entering in their

old profession on a part-time basis, but then often beneath their standard and badly paid. The various social backgrounds hardly show any differences in this respect. The social ideologies with regard to working mothers discriminated against women from all social classes and were also internalized by the women themselves in the fifties and sixties, on to the second feminist wave (du Bois-Reymond/Peters/Meijers 1989).

Only few women - mostly from the higher social classes - indeed had educational and professional ambitions when they were young, but they had to reduce these ambitions under the pressure of parents, friends and others. Not one woman was actively supported by her partner in combining profession and family. On the contrary, the large majority of men would not have allowed this. After all, their male identity was based on the fact that they could support a family. For as far as women did work during marriage and partly during motherhood, this was done out of sheer financial necessity.

However, under the influence of their own needs to start working (again) at a later age, or at least do useful volunteer work, the mothers partly pass these biographical experiences on to their daughters. They now feel that their daughters should have a decent education, and are supported by the fact that in the last two or three decades, the importance of education has increased in the lives of young people, girls included.

In spite of this increased importance of education, the majority of their daughters - present-day girls - still subordinate their professional career to their role as mothers. At least in this stage of their lives, just after having completed secondary school. In spite of equal opportunities in education, and, compared to their mothers, far-reaching possibilities with respect to training, in spite of a change in social ideologies opposed to women's labour, and in spite of an active emancipation policy on the part of the government, one third of the girls opt for the 'traditional solution' of the gender-specific standard course of life: work until one starts having children, and then stop working outdoors (two-phase model).

Table 1. Which model do youngsters employ with regard to work?

	boy	girl	total
Full-time work without children	6%	9%	8%
Part-time work without children	2%	3%	3%
First parallel-model (full-time with children)	74%++	8%--	38%
Second parallel-model (part-time with children)	4%--	39%++	18%
Two-phase model (work-children)	. --	27%++	15%
Three-phase model (work-children-work)	.	14%	8%
Don't know yet	9%	9%	9%
Not indicated	6%	.	3%
Total:	54	66	120

Chi-square = 69.07 (Phi = 75) (significant)

Another third part of the girls opt for the 'modern' variant of the standard course of life of women: a combination of part-time work and children.

Girls who opt for the two-phase model originate mainly from the lower and middle classes, and they are very pessimistic about the possibilities to realize their professional wishes.
So we may assume that their choice for the two-phase model is not a 'free choice', but rather a defensive strategy with regard to (in their view) an unfavourable labour market situation. These are girls who attended the lowest level of secondary education, and whose chances on the labour market are bad, as statistics show.
Girls who opt for a combination of part-time work and children are from lower and middle classes. In contrast with their mothers, these girls think that part-time work and children can be combined. Most of them, however, have very traditional views on the values of marriage and children: only 10% ofthem prefer a different path of life with respect to starting a relationship and family to the path their mothers realized. And 50% of them have rather traditional views when it comes to the allocation of tasks between man and woman (Ouwehand-Pijs 1987).

Only 8% of the girls think that a combination of a full-time job and children is possible and desirable for their life; they are all from the upper classes.
Only 14% anticipate the three-phase model: work - children - re-entering the labour market when the children are old enough (from all social classes). This last percentage shows a remarkable discrepancy with reality: the three-phase model, along with part-time work, is the favourite model for many present-day women who consciously choose for having children, or have done so, and who do not mind staying at home for a while, but who certainly want to re-enter the labour market when the kids are older.
A small but substantial percentage of the girls is planning a life without children (leaving aside the question of whether things will turn out that way): 12% want to work full-time or part-time and have no children (middle and upper classes) whereas only one of our 60 mothers indicated that she could also have imagined a life without children. (However, with regard to this we must take into account the obscuring effect of retrospective interviews). As a matter of fact, of all the 60 mothers, only one postponed marriage in order to be able to keep working.

We can be short about the boys: three-quarters of them imagine a life with children and a full-time job, and only 8% is planning a life without children. A negligible number (2%) want to have a part-time job combined with children. It is in this respect that boys and girls differ most. But girls render this model a totally different meaning than boys. They do not so much mean an equal allocation of tasks, as the few boys who opt for this model do. They mean: working part-time combined with children is possible, even when the partner has a full-time job.
Boys tend to say: if my (future) partner wants to work, she must

do so, it is her own choice. In this respect they are one step further than their fathers, who did not even allow for that choice. But boys do <u>not</u> say: of course my girl friend (future wife) wants to work, and that means that I have to look for a part-time job as well. This is not surprising: nowhere in society do boys (and girls) see functioning models of an equal allocation of tasks between the sexes, and certainly not in their own families. Relationships or communes where this model of an equal allocation of tasks is practiced are still rare (they are mostly found in left-wing circles where these models are being experimented with since the time of the student movement).
The labour market is also extremely unsympathetic towards men working part-time; pursuing a professional career is almost impossible under these conditions. Both, boys and girls, realize this very well.

When we ask boys explicitly how they generally think about the allocation of tasks within the family - in other words, about their contribution to raising the children - the picture becomes less gloomy: almost half of them say they are in favour of a more or less equal allocation of tasks. But these are 'ideological' statements, considering the fact that they are not very enthusiastic about working part-time in order to realize this more equal allocation of tasks. Keeping asking, it became clear that only 16% of the boys <u>demand</u> that their future partners share the breadwinner's position. Girls are hardly more 'radical' that the boys: half of them opt for a rather traditional allocation of tasks, and only 25% do <u>not</u> demand that their partners should support the family.

How do these data relate to the 'family climate' in which youngsters live? As we alreadyh indicated in our introduction, we link up individualization and shifting balancesh of power between sexes and generations. As this balance of power becomes more equal, we talk about 'management through negotiation', as opposed to 'management through demand'.
We have made a scale of this variable (on an aggregated level), which goes from 'pure management through negotiation' to 'strict management through demand'. In families with pure management through negotiation, parents do not put themselves in a position of power towards their children, but are open to discussions about possible conflicting standards of behaviour and are, together with their children, out to find rational compromises; in these families there is an elaborate 'culture of talking'. The opposite is strict management through demand, where discussions between parents and children hardly take place; parents impose rules of conduct on their children, who accept these rules or mutteringly submit to them.
Table 2 shows that there is indeed a relation between management through negotiation and the views of youngsters on a gender-specific allocation of tasks.

Table 2. Type of management and views of youngsters on allocation of tasks

	negotiation (1)	scale (2)	scale (3)	scale (4)	demand (5)	Total: (N=120)
reasonably traditional	15%-	32%-	19%--	58%++	38%	37%
reasonably egalitarian	54%-	36%+	31%	23%--	28%	32%

When we split up the variable management through negotiation into social background, we get the following picture:

Table 3. Type of management and social background

	low	middle	high	Total:
management through negotiation (1)	.	8%	29%	11%
scale (2)	10%--	31%++	29%+	23%
scale (3)	26%	6%	10%	13%
scale (4)	31%+	23%-	26%	26%
management through demand (5)	36%++	31%+	10%--	27%
Total:	39	48	31	120

Chi-square = 17.1 (Phi = .26) (significant)

Especially in the middle and higher social classes there is a management through negotiation, and in these social classes views of youngsters on a reasonably egalitarian allocation of tasks between men and women with respect to a gender-specific division of labour predominate. Individualization of the standard course of life will therefore sooner take place in these social classes than in the lower social classes. And vice versa, youngsters from the lower social classes are predominantly found in families with management through demand, with traditional views on the allocation of tasks.
Independent of gender, youngsters from families with management through negotiation think 'egalitarian'. This corresponds to our assumption that in these families, the 'balance hof power' between the sexes is more equal than in a management through demand.
Table 3 also shows that a small group of youngsters from the lower social classes live in families with management through negotiation, in spite of their background. We are curious about this group. Does gender play a role here? Indeed it does, all these youngsters are girls! In this case we can assume that the mothers play a decisive role in the views of their daughters about a non-gender-specific allocation of tasks.
We interviewed two of the mothers of these girls - and these are indeed mothers who consciously do not raise their daughters gender-specifically, and one of them has a solidary-egalitarian relation with her husband.
The empirical basis for this assumption about the 'modernizing function' of mothers from lower social backgrounds is admittedly very small in this case. But we know from the mother-interviews,

that it is not only mothers from the higher social backgrounds who express their wishes for a more open communication. The interviews dramatically show the strong commitment of the women to create a 'culture of talking' within their families, and establish a management through negotiation, not only with their husbands, but also, an maybe more so, with their children. Anticipating the round of interviews with the fathers, we venture to assume that it is especially the mothers who shape a management through negotiation.
After all, they have 'something to gain' for their own biography by a shift in the balance of power between the sexes. However, the fact that women from the lower social backgrounds are more 'stuck' in a traditional marriage will give them less opportunities to realize their wishes, which means that a management through demand is still predominant in these families.

When we compare the (realized) courses of life of the parents with the lifeplans of their children, 44% of the girls pursue a similar path to that of their mothers with regard to starting a relationship and family, while 34% deviate from this path.
Among the boys something very interesting is taking place: nearly 60% of them pursue a different course of life than their fathers'. They want to be involved in the family-life more than their fathers were in their perception, they think communication in a relationship is important, and in spite of the fact that they opt for a full-time job, they want to be more involved in raising their children. In other words, family-orientation is increasing among boys. (Galotti/Kozberg 1987).
This could be an indication that in spite of the ideal of wage earning which prevails among most boys, the traditional relation between the sexes is changing. Another indication for this change is the fact that 70% of the boys attach (very) great importance to the communicative aspect of a (future) job.
Boys no longer want to work just for the money, but also want to put forward their individuality in their work.

Present-day youngsters lengthen their youth-stage and postpone adulthood. In comparison with the youth-generation of their parents, this has everything to do with an extended school period and a maximalization of options with regard to training and profession. Virtually none of our youngsters, at the end of their schoolperiod, feels him/herself to be 'grown-up'. They feel standing on a threshold: young and not yet grown-up, or young and grown-up at the same time. And while nearly 70% of them indicate that they 'obviously' want to become adults, this is not so obvious for one third, which in any case points to a postponement of irreversible decisions such as taking on regular work and family responsibilities.

At the surface, these findings are contradictory to the fact that practically all youngsters want to have a steady (monogamous) relationship in the end. But there is something else going on here; the point is, when they wish to commit themselves. Not at this moment, that is for sure, as this group of youngsters make

clear. Half of the youngsters also plan to have children at a later age than their parents. They are in fact saying: we want to enjoy our youth and our freedom before we (finally) commit ourselves. This means that youngsters do not consider this feeling of being free and 'having fun' to be a part of modern life, as an achievement they can 'bring along' into adult life, but as something that is passing, associated with the period of youth. Youngsters are not eagerly looking forward to becoming adults because this state would give one more possibilities and rights, they accept it as it happens. This is in fact nothing more than pointing in a negative way to the greater possibilities in the period of youth.
It is almost staggering to see how unanimously youngsters characterize adult life as 'boring' and as a 'stagnation', and how they associate it mainly with obligations, in such a way as if they don't believe it is possible that also present-day adults can enjoy life and make choices. Only a very small number of youngsters think that adults derive their certainty from their personality (in other words, their individuality); most of them ascribe the certainty of adults to the 'pillars' of the standard life-course: work and family.

Our longitudinal research will show whether this view on life will remain unchanged in the following years of the lives of youngsters, or whether, as youngsters grow older and more 'mature', they will (can) make use of extended options which are geared to (changing) individual needs.

Which parent expectations are youngsters confronted with?

In the debate about the 'new' (individualized) youth biography, it is often argued that the modern cultural life of youth is characterized by a diminishing influence of parents and pedagogues. (Armsden/Greenberg 1987); Hill/Holmbeck 1987).
Following these discussions, we asked our group of youngsters about their perception of parental rules of conduct and parental expectations concerning relationships and sexuality, training and labour. After all, these are the areas which are considered to be constitutive of adult life, as we have already indicated. How much room is given to youngsters, and how are they coping with it?

According to 20% of the youngsters, their parents do not impose any rules of conduct on them with respect to relationships and sexuality. Those parents totally accept (either mutteringly or compliantly) the new freedom and autonomy youngsters have in this field. (Obviously, the age of the youngsters also plays a role here: most of them are of age, also in the legal sense (18 years)).
One third of the youngsters indicate that it is particularly the mother who does impose rules of conduct in this field (as opposed to only 8% of the fathers). A majority of the youngsters (40%) state that both parents 'interfere'. But with all this, we still don't know anything about the degree of tolerance. After all,

rules of conduct and expectations with regard to relationships and sexuality can be made (or imposed) in an authoritarian or a liberal way.

The style of upbringing, as it is perceived by the youngsters, can be divided into two large extreme-groups, with some 'mixed forms' in between: 43% of the youngsters are strongly supervised by their parents with regard to their private life (management through demand), as opposed to 35% whose parents are much more tolerant and indulgent (management through negotiation). In between these extreme groups are parents who do not interfere with the private lives of their children. Either because they feel that this is something their children have to decide for themselves, or for reasons of indifference ('I don't give a damn what he or she does'); by the way, only 1% belongs to this last group. In other words, there are two 'competing'-styles of education whereas in the generation of the parents the style of management through demand was predominant.

To what degree do youngsters obey to parent expectations and rules of conduct with regard to relationships and sexuality? 15% of the youngsters say they hardly or not at all observe the rules of conduct (depending on style of upbringing, this could lead to great conflicts or secret behaviour of the children in families with management through demand, and to several forms of compromises in families with management through negotiation).
Only half of the youngsters comply with their parents' expectations. In this case it is interesting that in both extreme forms, in management through negotiation as well as in management through demand, parent expectations are observed most.
In management through demand families, youngsters observe parent expectations because they have no other options or because they internalize parental standards, as the interviews show. This particularly applies to girls who are still submitted to strong supervision with respect to going out ('be home in time'). These youngsters are not given much freedom, they are treated according to the old gender-specific pattern.
In tolerant families, youngsters observe the rules of conduct of their parents (which are by definition not that strict) in the framework of a 'culture of talking'. These are youngsters who use their freedom in accordance with their needs, and are supported in this by their parents.

Let us now consider the field of (further) education and graduation. In contrast with relationships and sexuality, only 2% ofthe youngsters say their parents make no requirements at all. This 'proves' the strongly increased importance of education and graduation in the lives of the children as perceived through the parents. The large difference in the degree of interference between fathers and mothers also disappears when it comes to these topics. It is true that mothers here too interfere more than fathers (20% as opposed to 12%), but in 60% of all cases it is both parents who make demands and have expectations with regard to education and graduation.

As far as carreer is concerned, we get almost the same picture, although in this case almost 10% of the parents make no demands. These are parents who urge their children to finish their education, but when they have done so, they feel that their children must decide for themselves what they are going to do (these are mostly parents from the lower social classes).

Nearly half of the youngsters feel that their parents are very restrictive in their expectations with regard to education and graduation, while an equally large group characterize their parents as tolerant, although strongly involved in this respect. It is very striking that a very high percentage (87%) comply with these expectations, compared to the fields of sexuality and relationships, where this is only half of the youngsters.
We may conclude from these findings that neither youngsters nor their parents think lightly of perspectives for the future as far as education is concerned.

Peers are to a much less extent a reference group as far as questions about education and career are concerned; and with respect to sexuality and relationships, youngsters indicate that they 'will make their own decisions', independent of their peers.

What use do youngsters have of their parents as educators?

In the preceeding part of this paper we have become acquainted with two styles of upbringing: a traditional-authoritarian style and a modern-tolerant style, based on negotiation and communication. We have not 'invented' these styles in advance, nor have we 'presented' them to our youngsters, but we have deduced them from their answers to many questions concerning their perception of parental upbringing.
Too optimistic assumptions of youth researchers and culture-sociologists, who think that a general tendency of indivudualization and a prolonged and more unrestricted period of youth have also made relations between parents and children/youngsters more equal, are not justified.
On the whole, the 'climate' of upbringing has certainly become more tolerant than it used to be. This becomes clear from the interviews with the parents (mothers), who were the former youth-generation. When they were young, a style management through demand prevailed, for sure. In those days children were still often subjected even to physical violence. And there were far less possibilities to make independent choices and life-plans.
It is also true that the style of upbringing present-day youngsters now characterize as a management through demand would in former day be described as liberal-tolerant. In view of this there are apparently indications for the postulated shift in the 'balance of power'.
But a horizontal comparison - within the group of present-day youngsters - shows that different forms of a management through demand are still very common: more than half of all youngsters say they come from such a family, as opposed to only one third who say

they come from a family where a management through negotiation prevails.
But this does not mean that all youngsters from a management through demand judge their parents in a negative way: 60% of these youngsters say they hardly ever clash with their parents. This high percentage must be interpreted in two ways: youngsters from families with management through demand either conform to the standard of their parents, or they get round them in one way or another; it goes without saying that nowadays youngsters have much more possibilities to do so than in former days. Whereas youngsters from families with management through negotiation have, together with their parents, developed sufficient communicative skills to show consideration for each others needs and interests.
For all youngsters, the number of clashes is highest when their everyday life is concerned: in the field of behavior and spare time, and not in the fields of relationships/sexuality and education/graduation/work, which are discussed here.

Can youngsters expect guiding and orientation in their status-passage to adulthood? We hesitate to answer this question. Mothers are not a good example to their daughters anymore when it comes to solving the dilemma: how to combine career and starting a family. They simply were not faced with this problem when they were young, and if they were, they had to solve this problem in favour of motherhood, under the pressure of standards and ideologies which prevailed in those days. Present-day girls no longer commit themselves to this model - and if they do, they will go wrong, because society demands of them to work, in spite of a partial revival of traditional ideologies caused by unemployment. Concerning the boys, they do commit themselves to the principle of wage earning, and are supported in this by a social climate which is still strongly characterized by this principle, in spite of the feminist movement and the government's emancipation policy.
Parents cannot present their children with a clear orientation for 'the future' - and they (no longer) claim they can. When asked how they imagine life for their children, all mothers have in fact the same answer: they must have a decent vocational training, that is important. But which one, the youngsters will have to decide for themselves. This is also the case with regard to relationships and starting a family: they must make their own decisions, they have time to do so, and the possibilities to do so. There is but one criterion: the happiness of their children.

Parents don't offer a model for life to youngsters. Only 12% of the boys says their fathers serve as an example and only 4% of the girls says their mothers serve as an example. This is a generation w i t h o u t examples: 50% of all youngsters says there is no one who serves as an example at all, which is perhaps the most striking feature ofthe position of youngsters in a world that has become too complicated to follow any example. They have to make their own decisions and learn from their own experiences.
We will be following them on this path for the next few years, and see how they are coping.

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